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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

THE AWAKENING

You little eager, peeping thing—
You embryonic point of light
Pushing from out your winter night,
How you do make my pulses sing!
A tiny eye amid the gloom—
The merest speck I scarce had seen—
So doth God's rapture rend the tomb
In this wee burst of April green!

And lo, 'tis here—and lo! 'Tis there—
Spurting its jets of sweet desire
In upward curling threads of fire
Like tapers kindling all the air.
Why, scarce it seems an hour ago
These branches clashed in bitter cold;
What Power hath set their veins aglow?
O soul of mind, be bold, be bold!
If from this tree, this blackened thing,
Hard as the floor my feet have prest,
This flame of joy comes clamoring
In hues as red as robin's breast
Waking to life this little twig—
O faith of mine, be big! Be big!

—*Angela Morgan.*

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL—
Notes 179
Industry and the Strike Evil. Part I.—FRANCIS NEILSON 181
THE PULPIT—
The Price of Peace: Are We Willing to Pay It? (Concluded.)—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.. 183
CONTRIBUTED—
The Plan of a World Center.—DAVID STARR JORDAN 186
The Secret of Power.—ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY 186
SELECTED—
Some Russian Interviews. I. The President of the Moscow Soviet.—*W. T. Goode*..... 187
Problems Labor Would Solve.—*J. R. Clynes*.. 188
CORRESPONDENCE—
The Individual and the Social Welfare.—REV. CHARLES F. DOLE 189
THE STUDY TABLE—
Spanish-American Books.—FREDERICK STARR.. 190
POETRY—
The Awakening.—*Angela Morgan* 177
The Faith of a Social Worker.—*Owen Lovejoy* 179
Motherless.—*Florence Earle Coates* 182
A Yellow Pansy.—*Helen Gray Cone*..... 185
THE FIELD—
Attack on Syndicalism Statute in California.... 191
Books Received 191
Tourists Teach Negroes.—*Duncan C. Milner*.. 192

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXV THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1920 Number 12

God is a Father,
Man is a brother,
Life is a mission and not a career;
Dominion is service,
Its scepter is gladness,
The least is the greatest,
Saving is dying,
Giving is living,
Life is eternal and love is its crown.
—*Owen Lovejoy.*
From "The Faith of a Social Worker," in the Survey.

Unity hails with gratification the great speech delivered by Senator Knox of Pennsylvania, on May 5th, in advocacy of his resolution of peace with Germany. Nothing can be more scandalous than the continuance of a technical state of war with our former enemies eighteen months after the cessation of hostilities. As the Senator well said, the President is today making war on nobody but those of his own fellow-citizens who will not agree with him on the terms of the Paris Treaty. It is high time that Congress took matters into its own hands, and ended the war which it originally declared. More important, however, than all else was Senator Knox's declaration of what should now be done to make good the tragic failure of the Paris Conference.

"The Parisian peace-makers," said Mr. Knox, "should have confined their activities to making peace, and then, as soon as world conditions permitted participation therein by all peoples, initiated an international conference to formulate for submission to the nations of the world, with a view to adoption by them, an arrangement providing for the codification of international law, the establishment of a court of international justice and the outlawry of war. This arrangement to be as complete, comprehensive and compelling as shall be consistent with human rights and human liberty, with the progress of civilization, with the preservation and fostering of free institutions, and with the inherent right of every people to be secure, to enjoy peace, and to work out unhampered its own destiny, subject only to like equal rights of all peoples.

"It remains open to us, so long as we are unbound by the proposed discredited covenant, to initiate such an agreement among the nations."

The codification of international law, the establishment of a court of international justice, and the outlawry of war—here is the program of a statesman. Whether these things, instead of a sham League of Nations, could have been secured at Paris by a really courageous man, will never be known. But that they must be secured, if the world is to be saved, is obvious. Let America take the field in calling the stricken nations of the earth to new counsel, for the ordering of international concord!

One first duty is now before the Congress of these United States. We refer to a public investigation of the actions of the lawless, cruel and cowardly man now at the head of the Department of Justice. Let Mr. Palmer be placed upon the stand and questioned about the administration of his office! Let him be forced to tell the citizens of this country how many men he has arrested without warrant, and held in long confinement without evidence of crime or even evil intent! Let him tell how many secret Bastiles he has maintained, of the type of the one uncovered in the Park Row Building, New York, by the jumping of an alien from its fourteenth story window in order to escape its horrors! Let him be made to reveal the hideous tortures inflicted upon his victims, to extort confessions. Let him be asked to make good his wanton charges against American labor of plotted assassinations and violence. We understand that there is a Committee in the Senate on the Expenditures of the Judiciary Department, of which Senators France, Gronna and Borah are members, and that this committee is contemplating an investigation along the lines herein suggested. Let the good work begin! It is high time that the hand of the law was laid upon A. Mitchell Palmer, and due accounting exacted of his misdeeds.

At a recent public meeting in Philadelphia, not six blocks distant from Independence Hall, Mr. Joseph Cannon was arrested for reading that passage of the Declaration of Independence which states "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." Of course, the police captain making the arrest didn't know that this sentence was from the Declaration of Independence—a fact which makes his action supremely interesting! At about the same time, at a meeting in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, Mr. Allan McCurdy of the Committee of 48, was roundly hissed by the audience for reciting from Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address the statement, "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it." Of course, the audience when it hissed, did not know that these sentences were originally spoken by Abraham Linclon—a fact which makes their conduct also supremely interesting! These experiences suggest some questions—how much Americanism is there left in this country? Where is this remnant of Americanism found? And how much longer shall we be allowed to celebrate the Fourth of July and other festivals commemorating the ancient glories of the Republic?

"The Bible," says an appeal of the New York Bible Society just received, "is the best antidote for Bolshevism." Let us see! Is it not Isaiah who prophesied that men

> shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat.

What is that song of Mary in Luke I?

> He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath put down princes from their thrones, and hath exalted them of low degree. The hungry he hath filled with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away.

Was it not Jesus who declared:

> Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled. . . . But woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full now for ye shall hunger.

And we seem to recall that it was Paul who spoke the golden text of Bolshevism:

> If any will not work, neither let him eat.

We wonder now, as we wondered when Bibles were given to the soldiers during the War, if the Bible Society knows what a dangerous book it is handling. It reminds us of a friend of ours whose home was raided by the government police. After examining books and papers they were about to depart, when our friend said, "Here's the evidence you want—this is the one 'red' book in my library"—and handed them the Bible!

The all-sufficient monument of the late Bishop John H. Vincent is the Chautauqua movement of which he was the founder, the organizer, and for many years the active leader. As an educational force in the public life of the American people, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of this great movement. To millions of people it has done what the colleges and universities have done for the chosen few. Year after year, before vast assemblies of people, many of them far removed from the great centers of culture, able teachers have offered interpretation of the best in modern thought and life. In some cases, of course, there have been unfortunate limitations placed upon the work, especially in the religious field, where evangelical influences have been dominant. But on the whole the Chautauqua platform has been a free platform; especially remarkable has been its courage in cultivating discussion of pressing social and economic questions. Bishop Vincent, as his masterwork abundantly indicates, was a man of creative imagination, exceptional organizing power, exuberant personality, and noble piety. His activity as a preacher, author and church leader, was prodigious. His death marks the passing of one of the most fruitful and beneficent Christian lives of our time.

The Unitarian "drive" is on! We feared that it was coming. Man, after all, is an imitative animal; and with every church chasing madly after million-dollar funds, it was perhaps too much to expect that the Unitarians, for all their traditional independence, would not go and do likewise. The delay, however, had kindled our hope that sanity was presiding in the counsels at 25 Beacon Street, and that the temptation would be resisted. Now comes the official announcement that a "drive" will be inaugurated this fall for $4,500,000. One wonders how this money will be secured—$64 from every Unitarian individual, $320 from every Unitarian family in the country! But one need not wonder how it will be spent. Tens of thousands of dollars squandered on Unitarian churches in towns which do not want them and will not maintain them! Other tens of thousands spent to maintain organizations at the top which have no root at the bottom in the deep soil of popular life, and would otherwise wither away! Other thousands still for salaried officials, field agents, headquarters, all the vast paraphernalia of a great denominational machine! It is a tragedy. But what can be expected in an age when the churches are cut off from all the sources of true spiritual life? Money from the select few, who know how to use the churches for their own purposes, is of course the only recourse.

The social aspects of religion are those which hold today the interest of men. The justification of any church is its social usefulness in its town or city. The program of such an undertaking of religious reorganization as the Interchurch World Movement, stresses predominantly its items of social action. The most significant of all present-day endeavors in the religious field, the Community Church movement, lays supreme emphasis, as its very name indicates, upon the organization of religion on the basis of the ideals of social life. It is fortunate that at just this time should appear an authoritative book on the subject of religion as a social phenomenon and social force. We refer to George Willis Cooke's volume, "The Social Evolution of Religion," recently published by the Stratford Company, Boston. Two factors combine to make this book a work of first-rate importance. In the first place, it presents the human origins of religion in terms of the social history of the race. It accomplishes to no small degree in the sociological field what William James accomplished in the psychological field in his "Varieties of Religious Experience," and helps to correct the dangerous one-sidedness of that unique masterpiece. Secondly, Mr. Cooke's volume is important for its study of what the discovery of the human origins of religion is going to mean to religion in the future. The book is from this point of view a prophecy of revolutionary significance. We commend "The Social Evolution of Religion" to the careful attention of UNITY readers.

Whenever a new article of genuine worth is put upon the market, it has to meet at once the compe-

tition of a host of imitators. Its name is stolen or adapted, its general appearance copied, and all sorts of tricks resorted to in order to confuse the public mind between the genuine and the spurious commodity. Nor are such devices limited to the commercial field, as witness the imitation community churches which are now beginning to appear in the wake of the real community church movement. It is becoming quite the common thing these days for a denominational machine to organize a new church of its own and call it unblushingly "a community church." We have heard, for example, that in Flint, Michigan, the city extension department of the Presbyterian Church has just started the organization of what it calls "the new type of community church," under the leadership of Rev. W. A. Rex, a Presbyterian minister of some years standing. This church, of course, is not a community church, but a Presbyterian church with some community or institutional attachments. In some cases, we have no doubt, this policy of imitation is due to ignorance and good intention; in other cases, we are persuaded, it is flat dishonesty. In any case, it is as true in religion as in business, "Beware of Imitators."

Industry and the Strike Evil

PART I.

Have the resources of economic and political wisdom been taxed to the utmost that no one has been able so far to suggest a method of uprooting the strike evil from society? Have we become inured to the strike evil to the extent of believing these things must be, and that industrial conflict with the use of the strike weapon is an order of society which must be tolerated, whether we like it or whether we don't? Yet failure is stamped upon the last chapter of every strike that has taken place whether the men have succeeded in gaining recognition or not, higher nominal wages or not, shorter hours or not. Every experience is fraught with defeat. Worse still, every new strike, new in the sense that another body of trade unionists has taken action, reveals an increasing difficulty in getting the facts of the situation presented in an understandable manner. It is true the cautious observer may sometimes be in a position to reach an intelligent judgment as to the superficial aspects of a particular strike, but one must be pretty clear-headed if he would avoid the mess and muddle of the business reported in the daily press, which seems in so many instances to hide the vital problems in an atmosphere of prejudice and fog for the sole purpose of mystifying the public. Presumably there has been a moment when in reporting each strike the newspapers set out the grievances of labor and the objections of capital, but in every strike of late the grievances were soon lost sight of, and a whole mass of extraneous matter imported into the conflict, with the result that the origin of the strike swiftly disappeared from the public mind. Then it became entirely a question of the inconvenience caused in production and distribution. When the consumer is made to feel the full force of the strike weapon upon his comfort, it is asking too much of him to judge impartially the merits of the dispute, or to consider the underlying causes of discontent. Lack of coal, of milk, of meat, of bread, and the hundred necessaries, required in every household every day of the week, tells, every day the strike lasts, against a clear-minded decision; therefore, in the end, nothing is gained but a patched-up agreement; nothing of a durable nature is settled.

Let us see what has happened in the practice of dealing with strikes. Decade after decade government has assumed increasing power until now the notion is pretty general that it will step in and decide the matter whenever it is required. This is the most lamentable aspect of the whole dreary business, for the proper functions of government have been entirely lost sight of, and no longer do we find anyone of political significance entering a protest against bureaucratic interference. We are told the government must protect the property of its citizens. Well and good. But does it? Anyone who will take up the history of strikes in the nineteenth century and study it with intelligence will find it exceedingly difficult to establish the contention that it does. Maybe it depends entirely upon what is meant by the term "property," and, again, what is the industrial status of the citizen holding such property. It will be seen in a study of the question as it was threshed out in England that there was great difference of opinion in Parliament as to these points, but on the whole men of conservative judgment recognized the right of trade unions to carry on their business without molestation from the government. Lord Morley, speaking in the House of Lords on the Trade Unions Act of 1871, said: "The objects of trade unions were mostly such as courts of law should neither enforce, modify, nor annul, but such as should rest on consent. That is, I venture to say, still sound doctrine. That is the doctrine on which we are now proceeding. It is still sound law, and for thirty years it was considered to be sound law, and the thirty years' experience that we had under the law as we conceived it then to be has convinced us that it is sound policy. Where in the world is there an industrial community which has less to show of industrial disorder during the last thirty years than our own country? If trade unions have been more privileged here, which I deny, than they have been in other countries, as we are told they have been, then their privileges have had a most beneficent effect."

That seemed to be the sentiment in 1871 when the

trade unions received a modified legal status, "to the extent of declaring that those who joined them should not be treated as criminals and that those who robbed them should not be allowed to go scot-free as public benefactors." It was held that the trade unions were legalized and that they were non-suable in their corporate capacity. But the Taff Vale decision of 1901 reversed this idea, and the trade unions were deprived by that decision of much of their power. Then followed a long controversy in Parliament and in the country when the question of the status of trade unions was as thoroughly discussed as at any time in its history, with the result that in 1906 an act reversing the Taff Vale decision was placed upon the statute book. It might be well to quote some of the expressions of opinion of British statesmen while that bill was being considered by Parliament. Mr. Asquith said "he believed that the so-called immunity which had been given by the law to trade unionists had been of enormous benefit to the community in the past, funds of trade unionists had been safeguarded, not in the interest of a class, but in the interest of the community. There was no right more important to safeguard and protect than the right of free combination both of masters and men." Lord Haldane said "his purpose was to put the trade unions in a position which would restore the *status quo*. . . . He found a great deal of discussion about how the thing should be done, and he found the enormous preponderance of opinion was for doing the thing in the simplest, though possibly the least logical, way—not by cutting into the law of agency, but by simply saying you are not to sue the trade union." Mr. Balfour said, "I should hardly think there is an individual who does not recognize to the full all that trade unions have done and the impossibility of carrying on organized labor except by an institution framed upon their model. . . . I say that undoubtedly trade disputes in this country have been carried on with a wisdom and a moderation on both sides which cannot be paralleled in any other industrial community." The Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, said, "I cannot but hope that we may attain that which is our common end, namely, the freeing from impediments and risks of those beneficent institutions to which we owe so much in improving not only the condition of the working classes, but the relations between masters and men."

It was evident that the desire of Parliament and the public was to grant freedom of action to trade unions, and, it was held that the less government interfered, the less action could be taken in the courts, the better it was for all concerned. There is, however, this to be considered, that the trade unions of Great Britain became a great political factor, and labor in the Parliament of 1906 had over forty representatives. And since that time it has not been necessary to rely wholly for political action upon a centralized body, such as we have in this country, a body having no labor representative in the Legislature. Whether it be wiser for trade unionists to take parliamentary action or not is problematical, for in Britain, where they have taken such action, their economic progress of late years has not been any greater than in this country, where a non-party policy has been followed. In France parliamentary action has been a detriment in every particular as the literature of the syndicalists makes plain. And now it may be safely held that in Britain trade unionists have reached the end of their parliamentary tether. That was most noticeable before the war began. For within a few years of the reversal of the Taff Vale decision strikes increased all over the country with a rapidity that startled Parliament, and soon the administration was driven to reverse the very principles it had laid down in speeches on the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 and Parliament suddenly became the cock-pit of industrial strife. The great railway men's, miners' and transport workers' strikes not only taxed the resources and patience of the department of the Board of Trade, but forced the administration in the case of the miners' strike to introduce a Minimum Wage bill for the purpose of settling the difference between the unions and the employers. The military had been called upon in many areas to quell disturbances. Clashes between strikers and police were frequent. It seemed as if lawlessness increased the more the government interfered. And just before the war began there seemed to be no way out of the difficulties that were assuming a more and more sinister character. Political action has failed, for the objects to be achieved are not political in their character. They are economic.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

MOTHERLESS.

He was so small, so very small,
  That since she ceased to care,
'Twas easy just to pass him by,
  Forgetting he was there;
But though too slight a thing he seemed
  Of interest to be—
One heart had loved him with a love
  As boundless as the sea.

He was so poor, so very poor,
  That now, since she had died,
He seemed a tiny threadbare coat
  With nothing much inside.
But, ah, a treasure he concealed,
  And asked of none relief:
His shabby little bosom hid
  A mighty, grown-up grief.

—*Florence Earle Coates.*

The Price of Peace: Are We Willing to Pay It?

By John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Community Church New York

(Continued from the issue of May 6.)

(2) A second price which must be paid for the establishment of peace, is that of abolishing patriotism from the hearts and governments of men. I realize that it is a dangerous thing to say anything critical of patriotism, which has been lauded in recent years as the first of all virtues, especially when we remember that there are probably secret service agents in this audience this morning, as there have been regularly in our audiences since the entrance of this country into the Great War. But before any judgments are made on this description of patriotism as a part of the price which must be paid for peace, let me explain exactly what I mean by a declaration of this kind.

There are certain types of patriotism, I take it, which we would all of us be glad to see eliminated from influence upon human affairs. Thus, there is the patriotism of the man who can best be described, perhaps, as a "patrioteer." This is the man who is pre-eminently selfish, and who loves his country because it is popular and profitable to do so. He wraps himself ostentatiously in the nation's flag, in order to hide in some disguise of beauty the naked ugliness of his corruption. He directs savage cries of "Pro-German" and "Bolshevik" against his fellow-citizens in order to distract attention from the secret treason of which he himself is guilty. He rejoices when his country is plunged into war, for this he knows to be the ideal occasion for making large profits at public expense. This man, as we all know, is an enemy of civilization. His patriotism is a menace to all standards of decency and honor. Peace can never be secure, under any conditions, until such patriotism is utterly abolished. And such abolition, it should be said, can never be accomplished until love of country is tested by something far better than an easy readiness to wave flags, to stand at the playing of the national anthem, and to bear false witness against the loyalty of one's neighbor.

Another type of patriotism which must be laid hold on and destroyed is that of the man who is selfish not for himself but for his country. This man is of a character infinitely superior to that of the "patrioteer" of whom we have just been speaking, for it is to the interests of his country, and not to his own personal interests, that he is primarily devoted. But these national interests, which so absorb him, are warped and distorted in his mind. He would have his country great and powerful at the expense of all other countries. He measures his devotion to his country in terms of his jealousy, suspicion and hatred of other countries. He can listen to no praise of, and feel no admiration for, a foreign land, for such sentiments mean nothing to his heart but a failure of loyalty to his own land. As for war, this man is eager to have his country resort to arms whenever prestige and honor may be gained thereby. When he is a German, this patriot shouts "Deutschland uber alles"; when he is an Englishman he sings "Rule, Britannia"; if he is an American, he cries "America first." Oftentimes self-sacrificing in his service of his native land, always ardent and sincere in his protestations of devotion, this man is none the less hopelessly limited in his viewpoint, and dangerous therefore to all the larger interests of humankind. All the ignoble things which our first patriot would do for himself, this second patriot would have his country do for its power and greater glory. In either case, we have a type of patriotism which is fatal to peace, and which must be abolished, therefore, if peace is to be secured.

But there is another type of patriotism to be considered—that of the man who loves his country for the same reason, and in the same spirit, that he loves his home. This is the place which is familiar, and therefore dear beyond any other place in all the world. This is the place where he is comfortable and at his ease—"at home," as the phrase has it—and therefore the place where he likes most to be. He does not think his country to be better than all other countries, any more than he thinks his home to be necessarily better than all other homes. But he feels a sense of possession in his country—he knows its mountains and its rivers, is acquainted with its climate, knows its people and understands their language and familiar ways. It is *his* country, that is all, just as his home is *his* home; and he is fond of it beyond any other country on the globe. You know the feeling, as it comes to you in some foreign land, when suddenly and quite unexpectedly you see the familiar colors of the flag. Instantly there come a leaping of the blood, a clutch in the throat. You have been homesick all the time, without knowing it. This feeling does not mean that, in loving your country, you have distrust or ill-will for any other country. You are simply indifferent to other countries—you do not think of them at all. Like a man who loves his wife so much that he has eyes for no other woman, you love your country to a degree which simply excludes not only any passion, but even any thought, for other lands. You are a patriot in the one sense in which that much abused word can be used with honor.

Now what are we going to do with this type of patriotism? Must we eliminate it, as we have eliminated these other and less noble types, as a part of the price which we must pay for peace? Not at all!—this type of patriotism is not evil. The most that can be said of it is that it is inadequate, and therefore must be not so much eliminated as sublimated. It must be not removed but lifted up—not destroyed, but fulfilled! What I have in mind is best illustrated by the story of Edith Cavell, the heroic English nurse slain by the German military machine in Belgium. Do you remember what she said to the English chaplain, on the last night of her life, when she stood on the very threshold of her sainthood and martyrdom? For months she had been laboring not for Belgium, or England, or Germany, but for humanity. Loyal to the lofty ideals of her profession, she had given herself to the service of all who came within her reach, Englishmen of course, but Germans also as well. And now had come the terrible moment when she must pay the price of her devotion. And the last words that she spoke, in that hour just before the dawn which was to be the signal for her death, were these—"They have been very kind to me here. But this I would say, standing as I do in view of God and eternity. I realize that patriotism is not enough."

This, now, is what I mean when I say that patriotism, even of the loftiest type, is inadequate. "Patriotism is not enough!" It must be sublimated into something higher and more inclusive. Devotion to

a country must be transfigured into devotion to mankind. The national mind must be succeeded by the international mind. Humanity, and not "my native land," must have first claim upon my heart. In other words, we must get the organic view of life—discover that a nation is precious not for itself alone, but simply as a member of the whole body of society. Which means, from the standpoint of ideals, what Jesus taught in his great concept of spiritual brotherhood; and, from the standpoint of politics, what these United States have achieved in the working out of our great system of American government! The fathers who wrote the Constitution understood at the very start that one thing, and one thing alone, was essential to the guarantee of peace between the thirteen distracted and mutually hostile colonies which had won their independence from Great Britain, and that was the subordination of the local government of each separate state to the national government of all the states together. The southern colonies were unwilling to accept this subordination of the part to the whole, and thus made certain the great conflict which overwhelmed the nation from 1861 to 1865. But that one terrific struggle was enough! From the moment that the Confederacy fell, the doctrine of states' right was sublimated into the doctrine of national sovereignty; and from that same moment civil war became impossible. Many were those of our southern brethren who suffered spiritual agony when the nation thus asserted its supremacy over the states which composed the Union. And many are those who will suffer similar agony when, in some not distant day, the nations of the earth surrender to the keeping of some great inter-nation their destinies as independent political units. Patriotic Englishmen will feel that England is no more; patriotic Frenchmen will mourn the passing of France; and patriotic Americans will rave over what they will call the abdication of our liberties. But such international organization, superior in power and authority to any single nation whatsoever, must be consummated, if the reign of peace is ever to appear.

One man, and one man alone, saw this with perfect clearness at the Paris Conference. When Woodrow Wilson set sail for Europe, with the dream of a league of nations in his heart, he was absolutely sincere, I believe, in his knowledge and conviction that the time had come when, for the sake of peace, some definite form of international government must be established. He discerned that patriotism even of the highest and purest type, had done all that it could for humanity, and must now make way for a conscious and creative devotion to mankind. But when the President reached the council chamber, and looked upon the selfish, narminded, vindictive men with whom he was doomed to be associated, he must have known that his dream was indeed a dream. These premiers and practiced diplomats had learned nothing from the War. Ten millions of men had died, only that they might have opportunity to divide rich booty and wreak sweet vengeance on their enemies. Says Dr. Dillon, in his recent book, "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," "It was instructive and unedifying to watch how each of the delegates, when his own country's turn came to be dealt with on the new lines, reversed his tactics, and insisted on safeguards, relied on historic rights, and invoked economic requirements." Perfectly willing that the other nations should try the great experiment, but insistent that their own nation should practice the old methods and preserve the old self-centered loyalties! The Peace delegates, in other words, were still living in the Middle Ages with Paola Sarpi, who said, "Let us be Venetians first, and Christians after." Their highest goal was still nationalism, their noblest passion patriotism. They knew undoubtedly, as Wilson knew, the price that must be paid for peace; but they had neither the courage nor the faith, in many cases not even the desire, to pay it. Hence the "wars and rumors of wars" that are all about us at this moment; and, if the Peace Treaty be not changed, or "scrapped" entirely, the certainty of one last and universal cataclysm of arms!

(3) The mention of "Venetians" and "Christians" brings me to the third and last thing which I want to say this morning in regard to this matter of the price which we must pay for peace. When we think of Christianity, we think, among many other things, of St. Paul's impressive antithesis between the flesh and the spirit, which he says, "are contrary the one to the other." Then we may remember that the Apostle goes on to point out the consequences which follow from living in the flesh and living in the spirit. "The works of the flesh," he says, are "adultery, uncleanness, idolatry, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, envyings, murders, and such like." How different, however, "the fruits of the spirit!" For these, says the Apostle, "are love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."

The soundness of this ethical analysis has long since been vindicated in the lives of individuals. Indeed, St. Paul was not a prophet but a scientist when he thus contrasted the "works of the flesh" with the "fruits of the spirit." For it is the man who is exclusively concerned with material things, whose desires center about money, and the possessions and powers which money will buy in the market places of the world, who is led into competition against his fellows, and gives his days to "hatred, wrath, strife, envyings and murders." Those who live in the spirit, however, know not the meaning of "variance" and "emulations." They find themselves "above the battle" of sordid material interests and ambitions. They see their fellow-men not as competitors to be beaten or enemies to be overcome, but as brothers to be served in generosity and affection. Like St. Francis and Leo Tolstoi, the perfect types of spiritual being, they know only the law of love, and walk happily and surely in the ways of peace!

Now what is true here in the case of individuals, is equally true in the case of groups or aggregates of individuals. The nations of the world today are wholly concerned with the things of the flesh, and their works therefore are necessarily the "works of the flesh." There is no one of us who does not instinctively think of his country in material terms. We picture America, for example, as a vast stretch of territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. We see its mountains and rivers, its ports and highways and transcontinental railroads. We are proud of its enormous industries, its imports and exports, its increasing bulk of per capita wealth. We boast of the navy which it floats upon the seas, and of the army which it can at any time put into the field. In our deeper and more serious moods, perhaps, we recall the ideals of the nation's life, but hardly ever do we go beyond the point of cherishing these as something to be vindicated by force of arms. A nation's honor has to-

day come to take the place of a gentleman's honor, as an occasion for a test of physical superiority. "Men now are proud," says William James, "of belonging to a conquering nation." Our whole conception of national life, and the degradingly low level upon which national life is being conducted, is revealed by the single word "power," which in our time has become a synonym for country. We speak commonly today not of the great nations but of the "great powers," as though power were the goal of action and the evidence of worth.

Now it is all this material estimate of social life, capitalism at home and imperialism abroad, which must be wholly put aside, if peace is ever to be established between the nations of the earth. Men must come to have some other idea of national greatness than that of area and population and wealth and military power. They must seek the glory of a country in the happiness and prosperity of its people, in the health of its children and the comfort and beauty of its homes, in its standards of education, in its achievements in art and literature, in the genius of its poets, and the love of all its citizens for humankind. Some nations there are which have already delivered themselves from the sordid ambitions of wealth and power, and attained to some understanding of the spiritual significance of civilization. These are the little countries, like Denmark and Switzerland, which have been moved, we must believe, not so much by ideals as by necessity. Too small to compete with the great capitalistic and imperialistic states for world markets and military prestige, they have been driven to find outlets for their national ambition in these other and higher ways of cultural achievement. One great nation has in our time turned aside from the path of power and undertaken to build her greatness on new foundations of the spirit. I refer, of course, to Russia, which has deliberately abandoned all the imperialistic designs of the Czar, and, turning in upon herself, so to speak, now seeks simply the development of the extraordinary mystical genius of her people. But all nations must follow this course, pay this price of material abnegation, if "love, joy, peace" are ever to be attained. For these are the "fruits of the spirit," and by the spirit alone, therefore, can they be grown. And shall not this some day come? "Without a murmur," says William James, "men now lay down their persons and their wealth, if by so doing they may fend off (military) subjection. But who can be sure that other aspects of one's country may not with time and education and suggestion enough, come to be regarded with similarly effective feelings of pride and shame. Why should men not some day feel that it is worth a blood-tax to belong to a collectivity superior in any ideal respect? Why should they not blush with indignant shame if the community that owns them is vile in any way whatsoever? . . . It is only a question of blowing on the spark till the whole population gets incandescent, and on the ruins of the old morals of military honor, a stable system of morals of civic honor builds itself up."

Such are some aspects of the price which must be paid, if peace is ever to be secured. Can we not come to "the conclusion of the whole matter" by asserting that the price of peace is the destruction of the old world which has brought us to this present ruin; and the building in its stead of a new and better world than man has ever known? This was the dilemma which faced the Peace Conference. Should it set up the old, or confront the hazard and challenge of constructing something new? The Conference was not willing to take this monstrous step. It yielded timidly and vengefully to the old traditions, prejudices and competitions. Strategic frontiers were re-erected, balances of power restored, military safeguards secured. It was a world again of traders, diplomats and soldiers. Now in this great failure, there comes to us the stricken peoples of the earth who pay the price of war, the duty to insist upon paying the nobler price of peace. It will be no easy job, for the governments of every country are against us. To denounce war and preparations for war, is to be charged with interfering with recruiting for the army and navy. To question patriotism as the final virtue of the soul, is to be accounted guilty of treason. To talk about the "fruits of the spirit," is to write oneself down in the contempt of men as an impracticable idealist or a crazed fanatic. But the task is here, and it must be done, if mankind is ever to be saved. This is our Calvary, and we must be willing to climb it!

Despite of sneers (and hate), O faithful few,
Who dare to hold God's word and witness true,
Whose clear-eyed faith transcends our evil time,
And o'er the present wilderness of crime
Sees the calm future, with its robes of green,
Its fleece-flecked mountains, and soft streams between,
Still keep the path which duty bids ye tread,
Though worldly wisdom shake the cautious head;
Then, o'er Earth's war-field, till the strife shall cease,
Like Morven's harpers, sing your song of peace,
Lend, once again, that holy song a tongue,
Which the glad angels of the Advent sung.
Through the mad discord send the calming word,
Lift in Christ's name His Cross against the Sword!
Not vain the vision which the prophets saw,
Skirting with green the fiery waste of war;
Still lives for earth, which fiends so long have trod,
The great hope resting on the truth of God.
Evil shall cease and Violence pass away,
And the tired world breathe free from all dismay!

A YELLOW PANSY.

To the wall of the old green garden
A butterfly quivering came;
His wings on the somber lichens
Played like a yellow flame.

He looked at the gray geraniums,
And the sleepy four-o'clocks;
He looked at the low lanes bordered
With the glossy growing box.

He longed for the peace and the silence,
And the shadows that lengthened there,
And his wee wild heart was weary
Of skimming the endless air.

And now in the old green garden,—
I know not how it came,—
A single pansy is blooming,
Bright as a yellow flame.

An whenever a gay gust passes,
It quivers as if with pain,
For the butterfly-soul that is in it
Longs for the winds again!

—*Helen Gray Cone.*

CONTRIBUTED

The Plan of a World Center

In the confusion and rivalry of the Balance of Power, which led quite naturally to the present chaos, there rose the hope that civilization might co-operate through the establishment of a world capital, ideal in all its appointments, and owned by all nations alike, even as the District of Columbia is the equal property of all the American states.

This conception has been the life-work of an indomitable idealist, Hendryk Christian Andersen, an American artist of Norwegian descent, long resident in Rome. His plan of a world center was first set forth in 1913, in a sumptuous and finely illustrated volume, in which all the details, artistic and architectural, are presented in full detail. The idea of co-operation through art is the prime motive of this volume. The author has accomplished his work in full faith of its ultimate success, and with no thought of personal reward. "The prize has been the effort itself —the compensation the fruits picked up on the way." In fact he has invested in his ideal practically all of an ample fortune.

As to where this ideal capital should be placed, Mr. Andersen has expressed no choice. In a small nation the risk of jealousies would perhaps be least. It might be set in the suburbs of a great city, or in some picturesque site in the mountains, or by the sea. Among the chief locations suggested are these: Neufchâtel in Switzerland, Macarèse (on the sea near Rome), some isle of Greece, Fréjus (in southern France), The Hague, Tervueren (near Brussels), San Stéfano (near Constantinople), Montmorency (near Paris), or Atlantic City, New Jersey.

But this choice the author of the plan would leave to the "World Conscience," sure to rise as the plan progresses. To unite in a great work is to guarantee the soundness of its details.

In a subsequent memoir entitled "World Conscience," Mr. Andersen recapitulates the arguments of the creation of a "world centre of communication" as presented by him to statesmen of various countries. This is a most eloquent appeal for internationalism in thought and sympathy. "No boundaries can hinder the expansion of the human mind. No law can prevent the human intellect from developing and today all centres of the inhabited world come within easy reach. . . . If such a world centre . . . were to be built by universal sanction, it is almost safe to say that armaments would be reduced a thousand fold and that the ever dreaded war questions would in the end become things of the past."

A second noble folio entitled "Creation of a World Centre of Communication," has lately been issued by Mr. Andersen and his sister-in-law, Mrs. Olivia Cushing Andersen. This contains three principal memoirs, the first, or "The Legal Part," by Dr. Umano of Rome, a distinguished jurist; the second, or "Economic Part," by Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks of New York; and the third, or "Architectural Part," by Ernest M. Hébrard, government architect of France, and his brother, Jean Hébrard, late professor of architecture in Cornell University.

The article by Dr. Umano, directed especially to Americans, is a lofty appeal for a "positive science of government," one resting on lasting principles and not on hand-to-mouth struggles of clashing interests. "This while it is really a great and worthy exit from the war, is at the same time an open road toward humanity's true progress."

He thus appeals to citizens of our republic:

> Fulfill your task, O Americans, in a *positive way*: so that the present calamity can never be repeated and that peace may be insured by the only real guarantee, that of constitutional law.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

The Secret of Power

"All the world loves a lover," runs the old adage. It is a bit of the boiled down wisdom of the ages. We know that it is true because it fits in with our own experience. The lover is filled with the joy of life. He radiates happiness. His love is contagious. It is the most "taking thing" in all the world. The lover wins because he loves us. The very newness of his love breaks down all the barriers between himself and other men. He then is revealing himself at his highest and his best. The deeper reaches of his soul are revealed to public view and he is unabashed and unashamed.

We then know him as he really is. We see something of the beauty of his character and the strength of his personality. He walks the earth a man of power. He feels equal to any task and is afraid of no one.

As it is with a man when he first mates with a maid so it is of all life. It is only as we love that we become men of power and our power is measured in terms of what we love. If we love little things our power is small, but if we love the things that are eternal, then our power is immeasurable. For in love we can overcome all things, we can do all things that are set before us to do.

How weak and absurd all this seems to some who have never searched the deep things of life. But on what other terms do we have power? Certainly power does not come with indifference. He who does not care accomplishes nothing. Power is not with the cynic. Cynicism weakens the moral fiber and lands one in the scrap heap of useless things. Hate shrivels a man in body and soul. It robs him of his insight and power of discrimination. It blinds the hater to the facts. Hate is the substitution of passion for reason. You understand your boy because you love him. But your love must be real not counterfeit, love of your boy and not of yourself. Love enlightens the mind. Hate clouds the understanding.

You can test this any day in your business. It is the man who naturally loves men that is the best salesman. If he does not love them he must for even temporary success simulate that love. You cannot get anywhere in the business of selling goods on the basis of hate. It is kindly interest that begets confidence and wins the customer. The morning you had a bad grouch you could not sell goods. The day when you felt in love with all the world was your best day.

The day of the driving foreman is past. It is the loving kindly man that succeeds as a director of men. We no longer permit our cattle and horses to be cared for by men who rule them with brute force. We know it does not pay. The kindly man proves to be the man of power for he forces the brutal man to lose his job.

In the practical everyday world love wins. It is

love that opens our minds, gives us a vision of the realities and affords us a sense of power. It carries us through agonies and sorrows that crush weak men who are not strengthened by its miraculous power.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

SELECTED

Some Russian Interviews

1.—The President of the Moscow Soviet

[Among the property taken from Mr. Goode in Esthonia last September when he was returning from Moscow, and only recently recovered by him, were several articles recording interviews with Bolshevik leaders. The following is one of them.]

The Moscow Soviet is housed in the Governor-General's former palace, a large building filling one side of the square called the Soviet Square, in which is the monument by Andreef to the Soviet Republic, where formerly stood the equestrian statue of General Skobelef. In the course of my interview with Kamenev, the president of the Soviet, I asked him as to the extent to which freedom of speech, of meeting and of press is allowed.

Kamenev told me that for the workers generally there is no such liberty anywhere as in Russia today. Meetings of all kinds are constantly held, for there is not here, as in other countries, police permission to be obtained or the goodwill of the proprietors of halls before a meeting can be called. Here the great halls of former restaurants and clubs have been given over to workmen's clubs, which are always sure of having a place of meeting. And in these reunions the fullest and freest expression of opinion takes place.

But no freedom of speech for the enemy! "We are at war, and *à la guerre comme à la guerre;* we have to take our precautions and institute war measures. We could no more permit the unrestricted expression of opinion to the favorers of Koltchak and Denikin than would the English government to pro-Germans and such like during the Great War. We cannot open the door to our enemies."

As for the freedom of the press, it reflects the condition of things under the Soviet. The regime which has reversed the social order has also reversed the freedom of the press belonging to the former classes. Before it was the propertied classes who by reason of capital and position could maintain a big press, while the press of the workers was small and struggling. Now it is the workers' press that is big, while the press of the class groups is small. But for the press of art, theater and music there is full liberty.

Another cause which necessitates strictness in control of the press is also a result of the times—the shortness of paper. Formerly the bulk of the paper used was imported from Finland; that source is entirely cut off, and as stocks are depleted paper cannot be served out to all and sundry, and if preference is to be shown it is naturally shown to the workers. (This is confirmed by the kind of paper and size of sheet of the daily newspapers.)

But yet, even with the shortage of paper, the Committee of the National Publishing prints and issues editions of Russian masterpieces of literature, and that to a surprising degree. Before the October Revolution the largest edition published did not exceed 30,000; but under the Soviet regime editions of half a million have been reached, while the issues of the Soviet Constitution ran to 3,000,000 copies, and was only then stopped by the shortage of paper.

I asked after the attitude of the intellectual classes towards the Republic.

At first, Kamenev replied, the intellectuals—doctors, teachers, engineers, etc.—were entirely hostile. They suffered from the change, and being less accustomed to privation than the workers they suffered more, and this increased their resentment against the regime. But when they saw that the men who were leading the movement were actuated by no mean or base motives, that they were honestly working so that the benefits of the country should be spread broadcast instead of being concentrated among a few, then their hostility began to weaken. Many have changed the orientation of their ideas and are now with the Soviet and working for it.

In this, I have no doubt, the attitude of the Soviet towards the more helpless part of the population—the children—counts for much. For the care taken of the children is something extraordinary. I doubt if there is a country in the world where care and thought are so lavished on children by a government as in Russia today. Up to sixteen years of age children are supplied with food gratuitously. They receive bread, sugar, honey, etc., on coupons, and schools are kept open because children are fed there and the practice must not be intermitted. Gratuitously also are children sent to colonies in the country. And for the last six months the expenditure of the Moscow Soviet on matters relating to education and recreation was rather more than 37 per cent of its total budget. And this, under a special committee of the Soviet, is quite outside the national expenditure by Lunacharsky's Commissariat of Education.

Social maintenance accounted for 34 per cent of the half year's budget. Water and lighting are free, but not firing; the shortage is too great. I thought of Alexensky's remark on life in Moscow: *"Beaucoup de spectacles, peu de pain,"* and I came to the conclusion that, like many another epigram, it has achieved brilliancy at the expense of truth. The spectacles I have seen—crowds of young and grown-up following them. But hungry people do not go to the theater or to a concert to stifle their pangs, and I was careful always to study the audiences among whom I found myself. Hunger there may be; it was not visible on the faces of these. The immense audiences of children would shame a similar audience in London, and the appearance of the adults gave no impression of pangs of hunger stoically endured. That the Russian does not get all the bread he would like to have, and in some cases needs, is true. I saw that at Ostrov, but the case is not such as to justify the implication contained in *"beaucoup de spectacles, peu de pain."*

"Indeed," said Kamenev, "why do not the workers who destroyed the Czar's government because they had no food, who dealt in the same way with Kerensky's government for the same reason—why do they not turn us out, since there have been times when we could not distribute bread? The workmen understand the reason why we had no bread to give—it was not there. They have tasted the government of Mensheviki and know how little improvement of their lot

is to be expected from these gentlemen. And they know that if we are thrown down, for them it will mean the return to the old regime, or something so like that as to be indistinguishable from it."

Accepting an invitation by Kamenev, I was taken out to Roublef, the immense pumping station on the Moskva River at a point fifty versts in its course from Moscow (the river is very winding), but reached by a straight run of about fifteen versts. My guide was the workman chosen by his fellows to represent them on the Moscow Soviet. He is shrewd, intelligent, remarkably quick-witted, a finished specimen of the urban worker, as distinct from the moujik as it is possible to be. Members of the workmen's committee met us and went over the immense station, pointing out the operation of its parts, and insisting on my attention to the care for the life of the workers increasingly shown since they have had a share in the regulation of the place.

My point was to discover, if possible, to what extent the running of an immense plant like this is affected by the Soviet system. For, with a smaller station at Meteschte on the north side of Moscow, there are 1,315 men employed in a service which provides in all 150 million litres of singularly pure water daily. I found that the work goes on smoothly. The interest and pride of the group who escorted us were palpable, and the care shown in the work was best seen in the daily records of the bacteriological laboratory. For Moscow water is delivered almost free of bacteria —the last entry, after the recent heavy rains, showed at intake 2,030 bacteria per cubic centimeter, but at the close of the filtering and when ready for use in Moscow only 1/5 in the same qnantity. As a consequence Moscow has been free from epidemics, and the one case of cholera reported was not local but had been brought into the city.

Nothing that I could discover pointed to any deterioration of service. All to the contrary. The former system of housing was mostly in barrack buildings, but now they are building small houses for separate households, each with its own garden and at the same time a share in the huge allotments of the station. They have their own distributing shop, their school for some 300 children, all under the same committee. All over the general offices the workers have arranged a hall, with fully equipped stage, have bought a kinema apparatus, set up a library, a club, and a café, all of which was shown with an intense pride.

If this station is a specimen of what workmen's governance can do, then what Melnichansky said of the increase of professional interest and desire of improvement brought about by the change of system is true. But there was to me a more significant test. A system that is weak, or staggering, or moribund does not extend its operations—it is too much occupied with matters of self-preservation. And here at Roublef they have completed a new engine-house, fitted one-half of it with engines of Russian manufacture, and have prepared the beds for the other half. They are laying out new filter beds, and to bear up against the blockade, which has cut off their supplies of naphtha, they have built a light railway and supply themselves laboriously, but successfully, with wood for furnace combustion. And this is in the Soviet Republic, under Soviet rule, in which workers regulate their own work by committees elected by themselves.

To my direct questions on the matter these men expressed themselves in a way that showed they have no doubts about the advantages of the system, or its stability, whatever may have been the mistakes and blunders of its beginnings. All the members of the group, save two, were workmen, all took full share in the conversation that went on during the whole of my visit, and though to me they were perfectly courteous and friendly, their talk on the general political situation showed the temper which the policy of the Entente is setting up against it among Russian workmen; for these are the first to feel the effects of the policy and they know quite well to whom they owe their sufferings. —*W. T. Goode.*

Problems Labor Would Solve

By the Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, M. P.

If Labor had power to settle problems in the order of their urgency it would choose wisely to settle first the question of national finance. The war and all the effects of the war have made this the most serious, if not the most baffling of national questions. Finance is the foundation of every other subject of reconstruction. The half million houses for which the people are waiting cannot be started, not to say completed, until we have reached a satisfactory conclusion on this problem of money. A score of reforms relating to transport, the claim of pensioners, widows and dependents, the recasting of administration tasks through State departments, and the higher standard of efficiency in national management which must be attained if national government is to be improved, all comes back to this problem of finance.

Until finance is settled upon sound lines little else will be settled. All other questions hinge upon this. The country must find speedily a financial policy for grievances which I have named.

We must proceed at least on three lines of advance. One line is greater care and discrimination in the matter of international trade in order that we should do business with those parts of the world where the rates of exchange would cause us to suffer the least disadvantage. The other is a new system of taxation at home, on either big incomes or capital, or both, by means of a special impost to raise a large amount for the reduction of our debt, and thereby reduce the enormous sums of interest which we are now paying. A third is the greater production of wealth.

A score of arguments can be levelled against a levy on capital, but a score of arguments can be levelled against anything, and no new or special tax was ever imposed without the most mournful predictions of the disaster which would follow. When the State called not for a levy of money, but for a levy of men, it treated the good and bad alike. The only test was fitness and ability to serve. All who were able to respond were required physically to save their country when their country was in danger. All who are able financially to respond should now be willing to save their country from the prospects of bankruptcy or be made to pay as men were made to fight.

These difficulties of prices are a source of daily dread to large numbers of the population, whose incomes are not equal to the strain which their grievances impose. Those who were able to fight during the war had to fight. Those who are able to pay during the peace should pay. It will pay them to do so. They would get speedier relief from heavy taxation

which must continue so long as our finances remain in their present state.

To these aspects of the problem of finance, the subject of increased production is closely related. Workmen are suspicious of talk about increased production. I approach the question in their interests, and with the sole desire to reach such a state of improvement in the volume of national wealth as will make the position of the wealth producer far better. The more we can increase the purchasing power of the £1 note, the more we have advanced the real wages of the working classes.

Money is merely the token of wealth. It has only an exchange value. We cannot live on money, nor eat it. We want houses and good supplies of food. The problem of clothing and boots and the supply of a very great variety of daily needs are questions which cannot be solved by printing £1 notes. Greater production and abundance of commodities are a sure step to reduced taxation, and would enable us to rearrange our finances and steady the country.

Unless we use our capital and wealth and such reserves of wealth as we have to make more capital and wealth and to make more goods for both home consumption and foreign export, we shall not be enriched by increased wages. Greater yield of commodities is essential in order that an abundance of products should pull down prices and place upon the market all the things which are necessary for improved housing, cheaper food, and more clothing, of which the workers are in urgent need.

These conclusions are not a defence of the existing system. The system is bad. The greater the need, therefore, for making the best of it and not the worst of it, I am in favor of more people doing their share of work, and I do not mean that manual workers need individually work harder to get better results. They can be got by other means if we agree upon the object. If in reaching that object some employers of labor benefit, that benefit would be small compared with the great gain accruing to masses of workers who are now suffering privations because of the absence of the things they want. To get greater output two things are essential. Workmen must be assured of their share of it, and have the guarantee that they will not be thrown out of work because of the work they have done.

So long as we hesitate in giving through the State assurances which would give back to the State enormous advantage, we have ourselves to blame for restricted output. Workmen are more likely to increase their individual exertion if they see that workmen collectively are given a safeguard which any other class would claim for itself in similar circumstances. We may justly praise and generously pay brain workers of every grade who are engaged in the task of wealth production, but this problem of output depends mainly for its solution upon the labors of manual workers engaged in a hundred different forms of laborious toil. If we look to them to settle this subject of output, they naturally look to us to see that ultimately they are not made to suffer for it.

From Reynolds' Newspaper.

The Individual and the Social Welfare

Editor of UNITY:

Your note on the individual and the social welfare raises interesting questions. There are issues where the opposition is so obvious that we can say "either, or"; but I cannot find such opposition here. Indeed, one of your sentences goes far to admit the fact of the actual underlying and very wonderful harmony.

In the first place there is no such entity as society; it would be a hydra-headed monster. Society is only the larger or smaller group of the individuals who make it, whose endless diversities and various stages of development constitute its wealth of interest, as well as our difficulty of learning to live together. There is no social welfare except in the growing perfection and happiness of these innumerable units. We desire the utmost social happiness; we mean that we aim at such a general state of well-being that every individual life may work out toward its fulfillment in the most active and joyous expression of the indwelling spirit of the universe. For this end it must be keyed to the note of good will, its one supreme law. We should have real civilization, when each one in thus fulfilling his being instinctively helps all others likewise to attain the same fulness of life, when also the various common social activities and obligations, rising in the home and at last branching out over all the earth, are so directed as to procure for all men the widest opportunities of individual growth. "Each for all and all for each" is thus the formula and principle of unity of aim. The individual can never have fulness of life till he sees and gladly owns this secret of harmony. The excellence of his individualism lies in the fact that he is a cheerful, active and useful social unit, a co-operator and a comrade. He finds his life in every form of usefulness. The perfection of good society, whether in a home or in a nation, is that its courteous rule and order, free of violence or ill temper, permits and fosters the free and full growth of its individual members, with due regard to their astonishingly varied capacities.

Finally, this means a general and prevalent atmosphere of liberty. A true human society must be based solidly in spiritual relations, its material activities being motivated and dominated altogether by the spirit. Its processes of "give and take" cannot be compelled or regulated by law. The magnificent proposition that "it is happier to give than to get," can never be established by the rules of a state, or prescribed by the majority of a labor union. Each man must be free to experience the beautiful fact for himself. If it ever were possible to organize a government upon the principle: *From everyone according to his ability; to everyone according to his needs,* you would at once begin to defeat the spiritual truth that these words suggest. Only the free spirit acting in an atmosphere of liberty could be wise enough to carry the idea into effect. You try to compel or vote into existence this kind of human relation at the loss of that which makes it most characteristically human. You presently drop the level of society towards a cheery uniformity and strike at the flow of its energies. The free spirit makes its own laws, presses them forever upon our intelligence and our consciences, and preserves us safe from harm in keeping them.

Honolulu, CHARLES F. DOLE.

THE STUDY TABLE

Spanish-American Books

A book altogether out of the ordinary sort and of high merit is Goldberg's *Studies in Spanish-American Literature.*[1] It is in no sense a history of the literature of Spanish-American lands. It is limited to the "modernist renovation" and is mainly devoted to four of the great representatives of the movement—Rubén Darío (Nicaraguan), José Enrique Rodó (Uruguayan), José Santos Chocano (Peruvian) and Rufino Blanco-Fombona (Venezuelan). A considerable study is first made of the Modernista Renovation in its beginnings and development. In it, credit is given to a line of precursors. While Rubén Darío's *Azul,* which appeared in 1888, is often considered the starting point, a number of earlier writers really pathed the way. Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, greatest of Mexican poets—José Martí, impetuous leader and devoted Cuban patriot—Julián del Casal, also Cuban, whose thirty years were a condensation of neurotic æstheticisms—José Asuncion Silva, great Colombuian, whose "verses echo the malady of the century"—and Salvador Diaz Mirón, Mexican, whose long and varied literary career is not yet ended—have all contributed to the tendency known as modernist. Modernism owes much to French poetry, but it was a reaction through which grew up a something quite distinct. It was "an intellectual as well as an artistic reaction, and signalled the definite entrance of Spanish-America into European literary currents; from the Parnassians it learned to seek new beauties of line and form; from the Symbolists and Decadents it received the opposite contribution to French letters—a sense of color and nuance, a deeper susceptibility to the musical possibilities of words." Modernism has perhaps run its course. Its wave "has receded on both sides of the Atlantic; or, at least, has accomplished its historic mission." What it has been and what the modernists can do is shown in the statement—"Contemporary Spanish-American prose and verse at their best, are remarkable for their lucidity, their ductility, their adaptation to the multifarious hues and humors of latter-day thought. The language can crackle and sputter beneath the fiery pen of a Blanco-Fombona; in the hands of a Darío it acquires Gallic luminosity; Santos Chocano achieves with it new sonorities that well match his volcanic bi-continental utterances; José Enrique Rodó makes it the vehicle of fragrant essays that at times match those of Macauley or Emerson." As for these four great writers, they are studied in detail. Their work is traced from the first to the last production; the change in thought, the evolution of expression, the literary and personal influences that affect and modify, all are examined; of each writer enough selections are given (both in the original and in translation) to adequately illustrate the points made. To most readers the book will reveal an unknown world of letters; to those who already know something of this special field, it will give a quickened insight and a deepened appreciation.

The notable and growing interest in the study of the Spanish Language and Literature, particularly in its Latin-American aspects, is plainly shown by the number of Spanish texts that are being printed for school use. Several of the publishers are issuing excellent books in this direction. *The Hispanic Series,* published by the Benjamin H. Sanborn Co., under the general editorship of Prof. Fitz-Gerald, is to include volumes of selections representing the literatures of all the Latin-American countries. The first of these has now appeared.[2] It is devoted to *Argentina* and has been prepared by the brothers Laguardia, (Italo-) Argentinians. It is a fine book both in appearance and content. There is an introduction in English upon the history of Argentina, but the bulk of the book is made up of selections from authors, Argentinian and Spanish, dealing with the republic. Excepting the national hymn, the selections are all in prose and deal with the history and legends of the land of the wide spreading pampas. There are, of course, notes with grammatical explanations and an adequate vocabulary. There are many illustrations and some maps.

Similar in purpose and general character are two readers in the *Macmillan Spanish Series.* Supple's *Spanish Reader of South American History*[3] contains nine selections from Mexican, Ecuadorian, Argentinian, Venezuelan and Colombian authors. They are selected to present some of the more romantic and striking incidents in the history of the continent and range in time from the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa, to the construction of the Panama Canal by the United States. Well chosen maps, portraits and views are in the volume. The other reader, *Leyendas Historicas Mexicanas,*[4] consists entirely of selections from the Mexican writer Heriberto Frias. The selection and editing has been done by Prof. Barden. There is a brief English introduction relative to the Aztec and the legends all deal with Aztec themes.

Dr. Diego Carbonell is Rector of the University of the Andes, at Merida, Venezuela. We have received his little book, *Botanica y Biologia,*[5] which is made up of lectures given to students of the *Liceo* of Merida. The lectures are not a text-book of systematic botany, but an outline of biological philosophy, cast into an attractive literary form. Dr. Carbonell is an advanced thinker and bold writer for Venezuela, where it must be confessed that natural science has been neglected. To us the final lecture on the evolution of natural sciences in Venezuela is the most interesting part of the book. Only a few great names stand out. Alexander von Humboldt's visit to Caracas in 1799 gave a great stimulus to independent thought; Dr. José Vargas initiated instruction in biological lines about 1830 and was in relations with European botanists; the German, Adolfo Ernst, coming in 1861, did a great work in science up to his death and left a permanent impression on Venezuelan youth. With the names of Villavicencio, Razetti, Toro, Aguerrevere Pacanins, the list is almost complete. The last three still live and are working, against almost incredible conservatism, toward free investigation and expression.

FREDERICK STARR.

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[1] *Studies in Spanish-American Literature.* Isaac Goldberg. New York:1920. Brentano's. Large 12mo, pp. xi, 377. Price $2.50.

[2] *Argentina; Legend and History.* Garabaldi G. B. Laguardia and Cincinato G. B. Laguardia. Chicago, New York, Boston:1919. Benjamin H. Sanborn Co. 16mo, pp. lviii, 411. Price $1.28.

[3] *Spanish Reader of South American History.* Edward Watson Supple. New York:1918. The Macmillan Co. 16mo, pp. xi, 375. Price $1.00.

[4] *Leyendas Historicas Mexicanas.* James Barden. New York:1918. The Macmillan Co. 16mo, pp. xi, 181. Price $0.80.

[5] *Botanica y Biología.* Diego Carbonell. Caracas:1919. Tipografía Cultura Venezolana. 16mo, pp. 140. Price 2 bolivars.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

ATTACK ON SYNDICALISM STATUTE IN CALIFORNIA.

We clip the following from the San Francisco *Chronicle* of May 5th:

An effort to enlist the Unitarian churches of the Central Pacific Coast district to the cause of Anita C. Whitney in her fight against the criminal syndicalist law of California was made at the biennial meeting of the district conference of the denomination today in Berkeley. A resolution eulogizing Miss Whitney as "an exemplar of a noble type of womanhood, with a gentle and gracious manner and lofty ideals, which have made her an inspiration to all who were associated with her," was introduced at the church meeting by Rev. A. B. Hebe, in charge of religious educational work of the Unitarian Church in Oakland.

The resolution continues:

WHEREAS, It is now commonly understood that the criminal syndicalist law was hastily drafted and as hastily pressed to passage in order to suppress overt acts of violence against persons and property in the transition period after the war, and that those who sponsored the bill in the Legislature admit that they did not have sufficient time for the careful study thereof, and would not now give it their approval in its existing form; and

WHEREAS, Anita C. Whitney has never advocated or believed in violence as a means to effect political or social reforms, and no overt act was proved against her at her trial, and, therefore, her conviction must have been based upon her opinions; and

WHEREAS, It is thus made manifest that the existing criminal syndicalist law is susceptible of interpretations and applications which endanger the sacred rights of freedom of thought, hampers the search after truth, weakens the foundation of life and religion and contravenes the guarantees of both the State Constitution of California and the Constitution of the United States;

Therefore be it Resolved, That this conference place itself on record as seriously questioning the criminal syndicalist law as it now stands among the statutes of California.

And be it further Resolved, That this conference recommends a careful study of the Whitney case and the criminal syndicalist law of California to the ministers and laymen here represented, and such action be taken as they may deem best toward the repeal, or radical amendment, of this law, if it is apparent that conviction for opinion was made in this case, to the end that peaceful endeavors to secure reform be given the full support and co-operation of religion.

A second to Rev. Hebe's motion for adoption was obtained from the Rev. Charles Pease of Sacramento, and President E. M. Wilbur of the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry, of Berkeley, offered an amendment, striking out the name of Anita C. Whitney and specific reference to her case.

Rev. Caleb S. Dutton, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco, opposed consideration of any such resolution, and was assisted in the fight against it by Rev. Clarence Reed of Oakland, who introduced a motion to lay the resolution on the table, which was carried.

The session of the conference, presided over by Professor William Carruth of Stanford University, closed this evening.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY PRESS, *Boston, Mass.*
- The Light, by Catherine T. Boyce.

R. G. ADAMS & Co., *Columbus, Ohio.*
- The Field of Philsophy, by Joseph A. Leighton, Ph.D., LL.D.

BEACON PRESS, *Boston Mass.*
- From Bondage to Liberty in Religion, by George T. Ashley.
- From the Gospel to the Creeds, by William Lawrence Sullivan, D. D.
- The Road to Unity Among the Christian Churches, by Charles W. Eliot, LL.D.

THOMAS Y. CROWELL Co., *New York.*
- The Open Vision, by Horatio W. Dresser, Ph. D.

DODD, MEAD & Co., *New York.*
- Rebels, by Marie Ganz and Nat. J. Ferber.
- The Great Menace, by George Whitefield Mead.
- To Walk With God, by Anne W. Lane and Harriet Blaine Beale.

THE FLYING STAG PRESS, *New York.*
- Horace Traubel, His Life and Work, by David Karsner.

FOUR SEAS Co., *Boston Mass.*
- Outdoors and In, by Joshua F. Crowell.

B. W. HUEBSCH, *New York.*
- Untimely Papers, by Randolph Bourne.
- Man or the State? by Waldo R. Browne.
- The Army with Banners, by Charles Rann Kennedy.

MACMILLAN Co., *New York.*
- Caught by the Turks, by Francis Yeats Brown.
- The New Social Order, by Harry F. Ward.
- Armenia and the Armenians, by Kevork Aslan.
- Satire in the Victorian Novel, by Frances Theresa Russell.
- Can the Church Survive in the Changing Order? by Albert Parker Fitch.
- The Christian Faith and the New Day, by Cleland Boyd McAfee.
- A More Christian Industrial Order, by Henry Sloane Coffin.
- The Modern Reader's Bible for Schools, by R. G. Moulton.
- A Straight Deal or the Ancient Grudge, by Owen Wister.

STRATFORD Co., *Boston Mass.*
- I Believe in God the Father, by John Faville, D.D., Ph.D.
- The Social Evolution of Religion, by George Willis Cooke.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, *New York.*
- The Theology of the Epistles, by Prof. A. A. Kennedy.
- National Ideals in the Old Testament, by Henry J. Cadbury.

PASADENA, CAL.
- The Brass Check, by Upton Sinclair.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has estimated that through the health campaign among its industrial policy-holders which was begun in 1909, a saving of 27,500 lives a year has been effected. This means also, on the financial side, a saving to the company of about $5,000,000 a year in death claims. The estimate is made by a comparison of the company's mortality rates in the industrial department with those for the registration area of the United States which are most nearly comparable. The greatest saving is found in those diseases and conditions which have received the greatest attention of the nursing service provided by the company, and it is especially striking among women at the ages 25-34, when large numbers of the industrial policy-holders come under the care of the visiting nurses for prenatal and post-natal care.

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Published by **DODD, MEAD & CO.,** *New York*

TOURISTS TEACH NEGROES.

In one of the small tourist towns of Florida there was no negro school and no immediate prospect of one. Some of the tourists planned to do some volunteer work teaching the colored children. They heard that their work might be a violation of law, and a letter was written to the state superintendent of public instruction. The following reply was received from Tallahassee:

"The question which you ask is one which has not been settled by the courts of this state and therefore it would be impossible for me to give you a definite answer as to how a court or jury might decide the matter. The state law reads as follows:

"'It shall be unlawful in this state for white teachers to teach Negroes in Negro schools and for Negro teachers to teach in white schools.'

"It is my opinion that no one would attempt to give the parties any trouble who should assemble the colored children in the schoolhouse and teach them in the manner you speak of. It would be as I look upon it a charitable matter, being done on account of the necessity of the case. It is, as you know, difficult to secure teachers for all schools. It may be that within a few weeks some teachers who have already taught a school somewhere else can be secured to teach that school."

The colored school has since the above application was made been opened for a four months' term (the white school has eight months). Some of the tourists have been teaching the children sewing and some other industrial work. It is of interest that the leader is Dr. Cornelia Clapp, for forty-two years teacher of biology at Mt. Holyoke College, now retired.

The Survey. —*Duncan C. Milner.*

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